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 Stan Cohen, 1999

WEBSITES

- Territorial Kansas Heritage Alliance
www.territorialkansas.org
 Harpers Ferry
www.nps.gov/hafe/home.htm
 Kansas State Historical Society
www.kshs.org
 John Brown/Boyd B. Stutler Database
www.wvculture.org/history

HOTEL AND TRAVEL INFORMATION

- Lawrence Visitor Information Center
 Toll free 1-888-LAWKANS
www.visitlawrence.com
 Kansas State Tourism
www.kansas-travel.com
 Kansas Visitor Information Center/Fort Scott
 316-223-0310
www.fortscott.com

Produced by: **Territorial Kansas Heritage Alliance**
 an organization including historical societies, tourism promotion agencies, units of government, educational institutions, businesses, economic development groups, and interested individuals. The vision of the Alliance is to build an understanding of and appreciation for the history, heritage, and national impact of Territorial Kansas. Brochure committee members: Sharon Haun, Karl Gridley, Richard King, Tim Rues, Andrea Renick-Bell, Benjamin Maimor, Brenda Day, Dorothy Lickteig, Richard Sheridan, Tolly Wildcat, Murray McGee, Kim Qualls, Judy Billings. Text/image compilation by Karl Gridley. Brochure design by Jason Rincker, North Company.



*Original Seal
 of the Territory
 of Kansas, 1854*

Southwestern Bell



NATIONAL
 MILLENNIUM
 TRAIL



AMERICAN INVESTORS
 LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, INC.
 An AMERUS Company



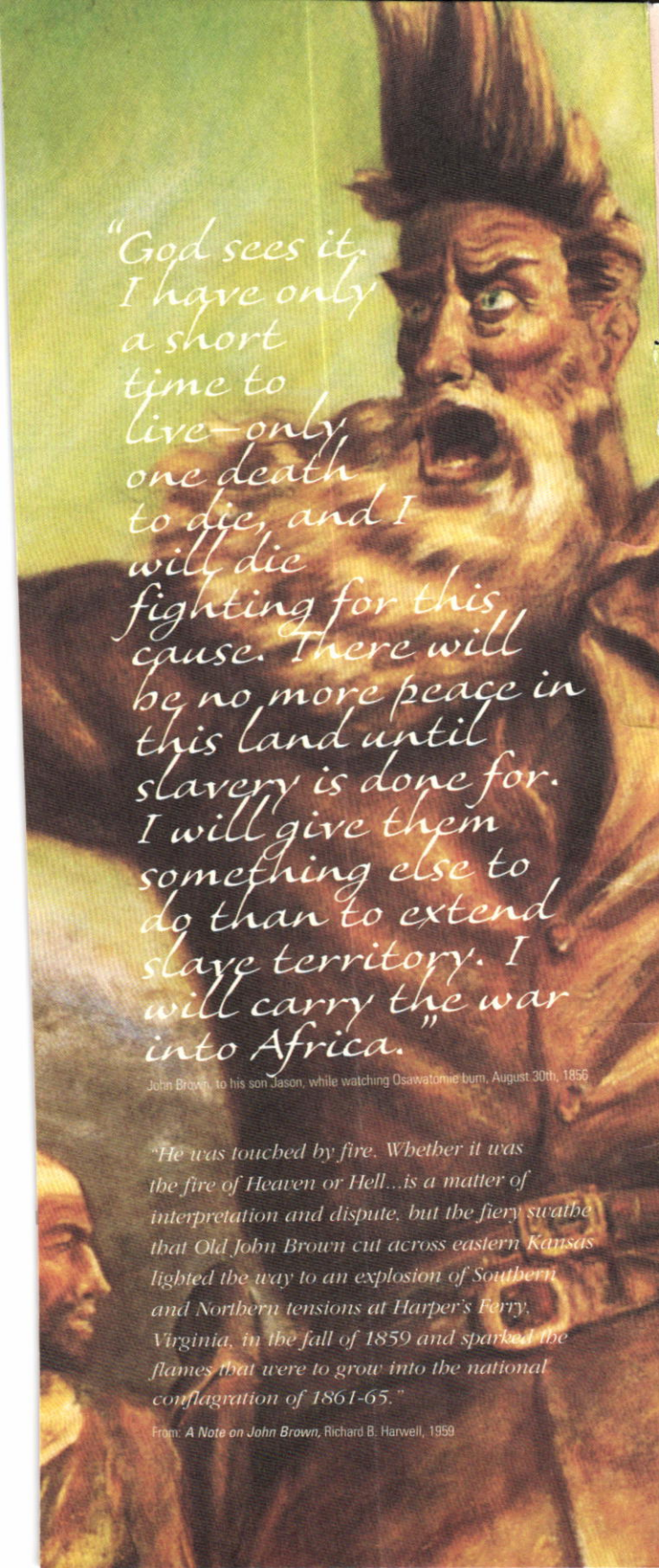
JOHN BROWN OF KANSAS

1855-1859



John Brown &
 Bleeding Kansas:

Prelude to the Civil War
 A Territorial Kansas
 Heritage Alliance Guide



"God sees it. I have only a short time to live—only one death to die, and I will die fighting for this cause. There will be no more peace in this land until slavery is done for. I will give them something else to do than to extend slave territory. I will carry the war into Africa."

John Brown, to his son Jason, while watching Osawatimie burn, August 30th, 1856

"He was touched by fire. Whether it was the fire of Heaven or Hell...is a matter of interpretation and dispute, but the fiery swathe that Old John Brown cut across eastern Kansas lighted the way to an explosion of Southern and Northern tensions at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in the fall of 1859 and sparked the flames that were to grow into the national conflagration of 1861-65."

From: *A Note on John Brown*, Richard B. Harwell, 1959

MUSEUM INDEX

For detailed directions and information regarding John Brown sites within a given region, please visit the following museums. Phoning ahead for hours is recommended.

Adair Cabin & John Brown Museum [B5, #49]
10th & Main
Osawatimie, KS 66064
913-755-4384

Anderson Co. Historical Society & Museum [B5, #59]
418 West 6th
Garrett, KS 66032
785-448-5740

Brown Co. Genealogical Society [A2, #7]
116 South 7th Street
Hiawatha, KS 66434
785-742-7511

Bushwhacker Museum [C6, #76]
231 North Main
Nevada, MO 64772
417-667-9602

Clinton Lake Museum [B4, #35]
Bloomington Park, East
Clinton Lake, KS
785-748-0800

Constitution Hall [B3, #20]
319 Elmore
Lecompton, KS 66050
785-887-6520
www.LecomptonKansas.com

Fort Scott National Historic Site [C6, #75]
Old Fort Blvd.
Fort Scott, KS 66701
316-223-0310
www.nps.gov/fosc

Gerth Cabin [B5, #56]
Junction of Bondi & NE Trego Rd,
Next to Historic Wagon Bridge
Greeley, KS 66033
785-867-2966

Jackson Co. Historical Museum [A2, #10]
4th & New York
Holton, KS 66436
785-364-2087

Johnson Co. Historical Society & Museum [C3, #62]
6305 Lackman Rd
Shawnee, KS 66216
913-631-6709
www.digitalhistory.com

Kansas State Historical Society [A3, #13]
6425 SW 6th Ave.
Topeka, KS 66615-1099
785-272-8681
www.kshs.org

Lane Museum [B3, #21]
640 E Woodson
Lecompton, KS 66050
785-887-6148

Linn County Museum [C5, #68]
307 E. Park St. (Dunlap Park)
Pleasanton, KS 66075
913-352-8739

Marais des Cygnes Massacre [C5, #64]
26426 East 1700 Rd., 5 miles NE
of Trading Post off HWY 69
Pleasanton, KS 66075

Miami Co. Historical Society [C4, #63]
12 East Peoria
Paola, KS 66071
913-294-4940

Old Castle Museum [B4, #42]
515 Fifth St, Baker University
Baldwin, KS 66006
785-594-6809

Old Depot Museum [B4, #46]
135 West Tecumseh
Ottawa, KS 66067
785-242-1250
www.ott.net/~history

Osage Historical Society [C6, #71]
408 West Osage
Fulton, KS 66738
316-857-4824

Osawatimie History Museum [B5, #51]
628 Main Street
Osawatimie, KS 66064
913-755-6781

Trading Post Museum [C5, #65]
US HWY 69, 6 miles north of
Pleasanton, turn at mile marker 96
Next to Trading Post Cemetery, KS
66075
913-352-6441

Watkins Museum - Douglas Co. Historical Society [B4, #28]
1047 Massachusetts St
Lawrence, KS 66044
785-841-4109

Wyandotte Co. Historical Society & Museum [C3, #61]
631 North 126th St
Bonner Springs, KS 66012
913-721-1078

Albany Museum [A1, #5]
2 Miles north of Sabetha
on HWY 75

SITE INDEX

Public sites are listed by their region on the maps for ease of travel. Private sites are included to provide the reader with a more complete account of the John Brown of Kansas story. Please respect the privacy of property owners.

A1

- ① Nebraska City, NE
- ② Tabor, IA
- ③ Cave at Pony Creek Lake
- ④ Plymouth/Pony Creek*
- ⑤ Albany *Museum*

A2

- ⑥ Lane Trail Marker
- ⑦ Brown Co. Gen. Soc.
- ⑧ Charles Smith Home Site*
- ⑨ Battle of the Spurs Marker
- ⑩ Jackson Co. Hist. *Museum*
- ⑪ Holton Hotel Site

A3

- ⑫ Packard/Owen House*
- ⑬ Ks. State Hist. Soc./Ks. *Museum* of Hist.
- ⑭ Constitution Hall, Topeka
- ⑮ John Ritchie House
- ⑯ Sheridan Farm*
- ⑰ Camp Sackett*
- ⑱ Fort Titus*
- ⑲ Big Springs

B3

- ⑳ Constitution Hall, Leocompton
- ㉑ Lane *Museum*

B4

- ㉒ Whitman Farm*
- ㉓ Free State Brewery Plaque
- ㉔ Free State Hotel Site
- ㉕ Whitney House Site*
- ㉖ Miller's Hall
- ㉗ Eastern House Site
- ㉘ Watkins *Museum*
- ㉙ Mount Oread
- ㉚ Oread Cemetery
- ㉛ Grover Barn
- ㉜ Franklin*
- ㉝ Blanton's Crossing*
- ㉞ James Abbott Farm*
- ㉟ Clinton Lake *Museum*
- ㊱ Augustus Wattles' Farm, Bloomington
- ㊲ Major Abbott Home Site*
- ㊳ Fort Saunders*
- ㊴ Soule Home Site*
- ㊵ Coal Creek Library

- ㊶ Signal Oak
- ㊷ Old Castle *Museum*
- ㊸ Battle of Black Jack Park & Granite Marker
- ㊹ Middle Ottawa Creek (Camp Brown)*
- ㊺ Ottawa "Tauby" Jones' Farm*
- ㊻ Old Depot *Museum*

B5

- ㊼ Brown's Station*
- ㊽ Osawatomie State Hospital
- ㊾ Adair Cabin & John Brown *Museum*
- ㊿ Soldiers' Monument, Battle of Osawatomie
- 1 Osawatomie History *Museum*
- 2 Pottawatomie Massacre Sites*
- 3 Plaque at Lane
- 4 Hanway House*
- 5 Wadsworth Cabin & Mound Site*
- 6 Gerth Cabin
- 7 McClure Hill & Cabin Site*
- 8 South Middle Creek, Battle Hill*
- 9 Anderson Co. *Museum*

C3

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- 11 Wyandotte Co. Hist. Soc. & *Museum*
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- 17 Woodland Cemetery
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- 20 Reconstructed Fort Montgomery

C6

- 21 Osaga Hist. Soc.
- 22 Fort Bain*
- 23 Fort Brown*
- 24 Brown's Missouri Raid Sites, Vernon County, MO*
- 25 Fort Scott National Historic Site
- 26 Bushwhacker *Museum* Vernon County, MO

JOHN BROWN OF KANSAS

1855-1859

Born in 1800 in Torrington, Connecticut; raised in the Western Reserve of Ohio; late of North Elba, New York, John Brown came to Kansas, a father of twenty,



John Brown taking the oath in Springfield, Massachusetts, 1846/1847; Brown's varied and often troubled career included work as a tanner, wool merchant and surveyor.

Daguerreotype by Augustus Washington, Smithsonian National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C.

a devout Calvinist and a militant abolitionist.

In 1855 he arrived heavily armed—determined to stop the spread of, and ultimately to end, American slavery. Kansas became his preliminary battleground; Harpers Ferry his final one. A controversial, polarizing figure, John

Brown would force the issue of slavery to a violent, cataclysmic resolution and forever change the way Americans lived their lives.

"Dear Davis, We will before six months rolls around have the Devil to play in Kansas... We are organizing to meet their organization. We will be compelled to shoot, burn and hang, but the thing will soon be over."

Missouri Sen. David Rice Atchison, President pro tem, U.S. Senate, to Jefferson Davis, U.S. Secretary of War, September 24, 1854.

May 9, 1800
Birth of John Brown

War of 1812
Driving cattle from Ohio to supply Gen. Hull's forces at Detroit, a young Brown witnesses the brutal beating of a slave boy.

1820
Missouri Compromise

1831
Nat Turner's Rebellion

Nov. 7, 1837
Murder of abolitionist newspaperman, Elijah Lovejoy, in Illinois by proslavery mob. Brown vows to "consecrate his life to the destruction of slavery."

Fall, 1849
Brown in Europe



Brown knew and respected many African Americans including Frederick Douglass, the famous escaped slave and writer.
Daguerreotype U.S. National Park Service

1850
Fugitive Slave Law

May 30, 1854
Kansas-Nebraska Act signed into law by President Franklin Pierce.

1855



John Brown Jr.,
Brown's eldest son



Kansas State Historical Society (KSHS)

"Missourians Going to Vote"—"If the question of slavery or no slavery in Kansas must be settled at the cartridge box, instead of at the ballot box, I pray the day may speedily come."
John Jr. to John Brown Sr., letter of May 6, 1855

"Popular Sovereignty" is intended to resolve the Free vs. Slave State issue in Kansas Territory.

Spring, 1855

John Brown Jr., Jason, Owen, Frederick, and Salmon Brown, come to Kansas early in 1855, and settle north of Pottawatomie Creek, ten miles west of Osawatomie. [#47]

Mar. 30, 1855

"About one thousand Missourians arrived in Lawrence to vote, and vote. Mrs. Robinson says: 'they were armed with guns, pistols, rifles and bowie-knives. They brought two cannon loaded with musket balls.'"

From the *Annals of Kansas*, Daniel W. Wilder, 1875



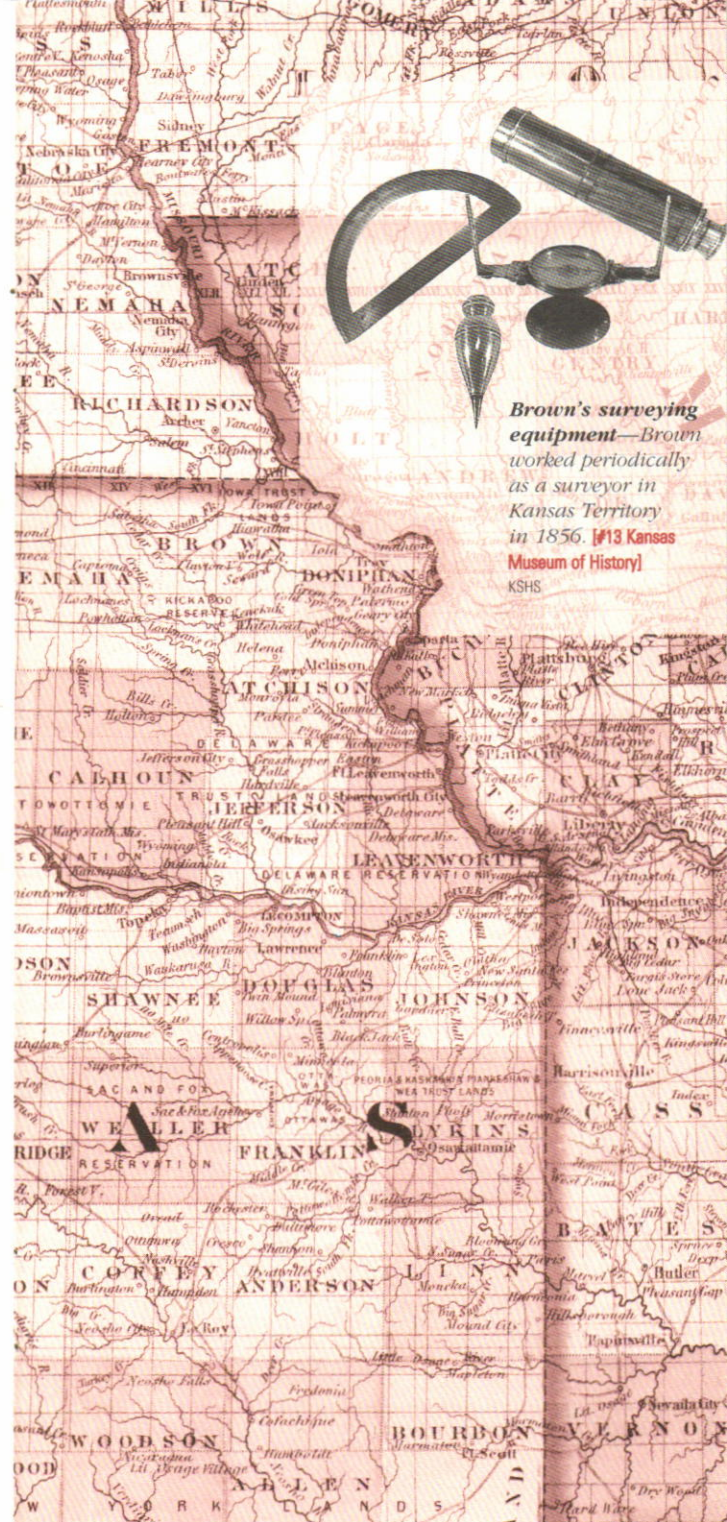
Samuel Adair,
Brown's brother-in-law at Osawatomie



KSHS

"Rescue of Branson"—The murder of Charles W. Dow and Rescue of Branson near Blanton's Crossing results in the Wakarusa War. [#33 Blanton's Crossing]

Heeding a call for defenders of Lawrence, Brown and four of his sons arrived from Brown's Station [#47] on the afternoon of December 7, "all of us more or less lamed by our tramp," Brown said. Brown was given a captaincy of a company known as the Liberty Guards, and though no military action occurred during this "Wakarusa War," he was ever after known as Captain Brown.



Brown's surveying equipment—Brown worked periodically as a surveyor in Kansas Territory in 1856. [13 Kansas Museum of History] KSHS



Statue of John Brown, 1910, Western University, [#60] at Quindaro, 27th & Sewell, Kansas City, Kansas. Inscription: "Erected to the Memory of John Brown by a Grateful People."

"If we look over the dates, places and men, for which this honor is claimed, we shall find that not Carolina, but Virginia—not Fort Sumter, but Harper's Ferry and the arsenal—not Col. Anderson, but John Brown began the war that ended American slavery and made this a free Republic."

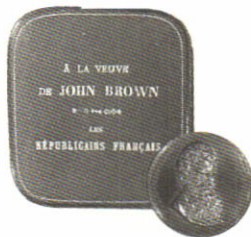
Frederick Douglass, 1881

From the Final Address to the Court by John Brown:

"I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done, in behalf

of His despised poor, I did not wrong but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, I say let it be done."

Charlestown, VA,
November 2, 1859



French Medallion of John Brown given to the Brown family by Victor Hugo and the French Republicans. [#13]

KSHS

Nov. 6, 1860
Abraham Lincoln elected president.

Jan. 29, 1861
Kansas admitted to the Union as a Free State.

Mar. 4, 1861
Inauguration of President Lincoln.

Apr. 12-13, 1861
Fort Sumter fired upon, Civil War begins.

"John Brown's Body lies a mouldering in the grave. But his soul goes marching on. Glory, glory Hallelujah."

Famous battle hymn of the American Civil War

"I will only say of

this scene that it was Heart-rending; & calculated to exasperate the men exceedingly; and one of the sure results of Civil War."



Shutter Collection

John Brown's wife Mary

Facsimile of original letter, to Mary, Dec. 16, 1855: "Civil War" in Brown's handwriting—John Brown describing seeing the body and grieving widow of murdered Ohio abolitionist, Thomas W. Barber, [#30 Oread Cemetery] at the Free State Hotel [#24] in Lawrence, Dec. 7, 1855.

Kansas State Historical Society

"To each of their persons was strapped a short heavy broadsword," G.W. Brown, editor of the **Herald of Freedom**, recalled of the Browns' arrival in Lawrence: "Each was supplied with a goodly number of fire arms, and navy revolvers, and poles were standing endwise around the wagon box with fixed bayonets pointing upwards. They looked really formidable and were received with great eclat. A small military company was organized at once, and the command was given to Old Brown."



KSHS

James H. Lane and Charles Robinson—Prominent Free State leaders during the Wakarusa War when Lawrence was surrounded by a vast force of Border Ruffians.

"The Antislavery portion of the inhabitants should immediately, thoroughly arm and organize themselves in military companies."

John Jr. to John Brown Sr., letter of May 20 and 24, 1855

Oct. 6-7, 1855

John Brown arrives at Osawatimie and Brown's Station from Chicago by one-horse wagon.

"...the old man was shocked at what he found. His children were living in makeshift tents, 'shivering over their little fires all exposed to the dreadfully cutting Winds.'"

Dates—quoting John Brown's letter of Oct. 13, 1855

John Brown Sr. immediately set to work to build adequate shelter. [#47 Brown's Station, #49 Adair Cabin & John Brown Museum]

Dec. 7, 1855
Brown and four of his sons arrive to help with defense of Lawrence during the Wakarusa War. [#33 Blanton's Crossing, #24 Free State Hotel Site]

1856

May 21, 1856

Lawrence sacked by Sheriff Jones. [#24 Free State Hotel Site] Platte County Rifles, Kickapoo Rangers, Doniphan Tigers and Palmetto Guards all participate.



KSHS

David Rice Atchison

Senator Atchison of Missouri, drinking and enjoying the day immensely, urged the Rangers on in the destruction of the Free State Hotel [#24] and their pillage of the town: "If any man or woman stand in your way," he bellowed, "blow them to hell with a cold chunk of lead!"



Cannonball
KSHS

After a long, cold winter, hostilities between Free State and Pro-slavery forces erupted again in the spring of 1856. On May 21, Lawrence [#24 Free State Hotel Site] was sacked by Missourians under the command of Sheriff Samuel Jones. John Brown again set out to aid in defense, but hearing that the Missourians had left the town, he turned back near the town



KSHS

Sheriff Samuel Jones



"David Rice Atchison bombarding the Free State Hotel" [#24 Free State Hotel Site]
Missouri State Historical Society

of Prairie City, and camped above Dutch Henry's Crossing on Pottawatomie Creek.

[#52 Pottawatomie Massacre Sites, #53 Plaque at Lane, #45 Ottawa "Tauy" Jones' Farm]

In brutal retaliation for the sacking of Lawrence, and for the beating of Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner in Washington by Congressman Preston Brooks of South Carolina, Brown, four of his sons, and two other settlers committed the **Pottawatomie Massacre** [#52 Pottawatomie Massacre Sites, #53 Plaque at Lane, #46 Old Depot Museum, #54 Hanway House] on the evening

Brown discouraged any rescue attempt, telling Samuel C. Pomeroy, who visited him in the Charlestown jail: "I am worth now infinitely more to die than to live."

Villard

"I John Brown am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty

land will never be purged away, but with Blood."

John Brown's last handwritten note, handed to a guard, on the way to the gallows. Dec. 2, 1859.

"In 1879, fourteen years after the Emancipation Proclamation, thousands of blacks fled the South. They were headed for the homesteading lands of Kansas, the 'Garden Spot of the Earth' and the 'quintessential Free State, the land of John Brown.'"

Newsweek on Exodusters by Nell Irvin Painter.

John Brown considered **Harriet Tubman**, the famed underground railroad conductor, to be his "General." Tubman considered Brown, not Abraham Lincoln, the true emancipator of her people.



Rampersad



Library of Congress

Mary Leary Langston. 1910, widow of Harpers Ferry Raider **Lewis S. Leary** and Grandmother of Langston Hughes, is buried at Oak Hill Cemetery in Lawrence.



Melodeon

[#49 Adair Cabin] Played at John Brown's funeral. Given by John Brown to his daughter Ruth.

"History will date Virginia emancipation from Harper's Ferry. True, the slave is still there. So when the tempest uproots a pine on your hills, it looks green for months—a year or two. Still, it is timber, not a tree. John Brown has loosened the roots of the slave system; it only breathes,—it does not live,—hereafter."

Eulogy delivered at North Elba, NY by Wendell Phillips, December 8, 1859

Dec. 16, 1859

Four raiders, J. Copeland, Green, E. Coppoc and Cook hanged at Charlestown, Va.

Mar. 16, 1860

Kansas Raiders Stevens and Hazlett hanged at Charlestown, Va.

Dec. 2, 1859

John Brown hanged for "crimes of murder, treason and slave insurrection" against the state of Virginia.

"So perish all such enemies of Virginia! All such enemies of the Union! All such foes of the human race!"

Col. J.T.L. Preston, December 2, 1859, upon the execution of John Brown

"John Brown's career for the last six weeks of his life was meteor-like, flashing through the darkness in which we live. I know of nothing so miraculous in our history."

Henry David Thoreau—
"The Last Days of John Brown"

"Old John Brown has just been executed for treason against the state. We cannot object, even though he agreed with us in thinking slavery wrong. That cannot excuse violence, bloodshed, and treason. It could avail him nothing that he might think himself right."

Abraham Lincoln, speaking in Leavenworth, Kansas Territory, on Dec. 3, 1859. Lincoln nonetheless felt Brown had "shown great courage, and rare unselfishness."

"In firing his gun, John Brown has merely told what time of day it is. It is high noon, Thank God."

William Lloyd Garrison



Metropolitan Museum of Art, NYC

"Last Moments of John Brown" by T. Hovenden. "Even now as I write, they are leading old John Brown to execution in Virginia for attempting to rescue slaves! This is sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind, which will come soon."

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, December 2, 1859.

Brown was hanged December 2, 1859, in Charlestown, Virginia, following his famous raid on the Federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, an event that shook the nation and led inexorably to the American Civil War.

"[John Brown] if he shall suffer, will make the gallows glorious like the cross."

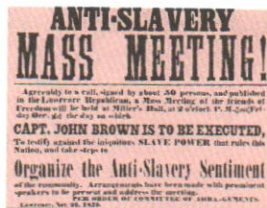
Ralph Waldo Emerson

There were various rescue plans made by the "boldest jayhawkers": Wattles, Montgomery, Abbott, Jennison, Lenhart, Gardner and Soule. #66

Augustus Wattles',

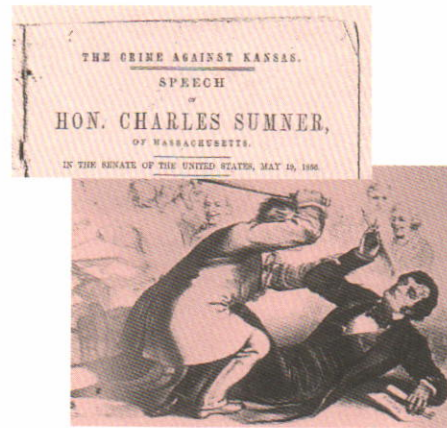
Moneka,

#67 Woodland Cemetery]



KSHS

Broadside announcing John Brown execution, "Anti-Slavery Mass Meeting." [#26 Miller's Hall]



"Caning of Charles Sumner"

Kansas Collection, University of Kansas; KSHS

of May 24. Five Pro-slavery settlers were hacked to death that night and early morning, an act of butchery that shocked the territory. Brown himself, though never admitting or denying direct involvement in the massacre, said it was done to



1832 Artillery sword, type used in the Pottawatomie Massacre.

[#49 Adair Cabin & John Brown Mus.]

even the score for six Free State men murdered in the previous months, and "to cause a restraining fear." Whatever the rationale, this brutal act plunged Bleeding Kansas further into a vicious civil war that raged throughout much of 1856.

"He [John Brown] said if a man stood between him and what he considered right, he would take his life as coolly as he would eat his breakfast. His actions show what he is. Always restless, he seems never to sleep. With an eye like a snake, he looks like a demon."

Affidavit quote of Mahala Doyle, widow of James P. Doyle

May 22, 1856

Caning of Senator Sumner

"Salmon said that, while everybody in camp was upset about the beatings [of Sumner], he and his father and unmarried brothers 'went crazy—crazy' when they heard the news. 'It seemed to be the finishing, decisive touch.'"

Dates

May 24 & 25, 1856

Brown, four of his sons and two settlers commit the Pottawatomie Massacre. Victims: James P. Doyle, Drury Doyle, William Doyle, Allen Wilkinson, and William Sherman.

"...there is no one for whom the border ruffians entertain a more wholesome dread than Captain Brown. They hate him as they would a snake, but their hatred is composed nine tenths of fear... He is a strange, resolute, repulsive, iron-willed, inexorable old man."

William Phillips, special correspondent of the New York Tribune, for Kansas, 1856

"Without the shedding of blood, there is no remission of sins."

Hebrews 9:22, a favorite biblical quote of Brown

May 26, 1856
August Bondi joins John Brown's band.



KSHS

Owen Brown

Summer, 1856

Blockade of Free State travel on the Missouri River by Pro-slavery forces. Lane Trail is opened, going from Topeka through Nebraska City to Iowa. (#6)

May 30-31, 1856

James Redpath first meets John Brown; Brown joins forces with Captain Samuel T. Shore (#44)

"On last Sunday morning, about 2 o'clock (the 25th of May last), whilst my wife and child and myself were in bed in the house where we lived, we were aroused by a company of men who said they belonged to the northern army, and who were each armed with a sabre and two revolvers, two of whom I recognized, namely, a Mr. Brown, whose given name I do not remember, commonly known by the appellation of 'Old Man Brown,' and his son, Owen Brown. They came in the house...and ordered us, together with three other men...to surrender; that the northern army was upon us, and it would be no use for us to resist..."

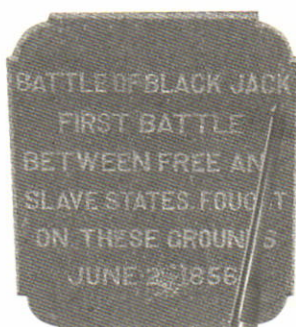
Affidavit quote of James Harris, regarding the Pottawatomie Massacre

"I desire also to say that I did not then

approve of the killing of these men, but Brown said it must

be done for the protection of the free state settlers; that the pro-slavery party must be terrified and that it was better that a score of bad men should die than that one man who came here to make Kansas a free state should be driven out."

Statement of James Townsley, Lane, Kansas, December 6, 1879 (#54 Hanway House)

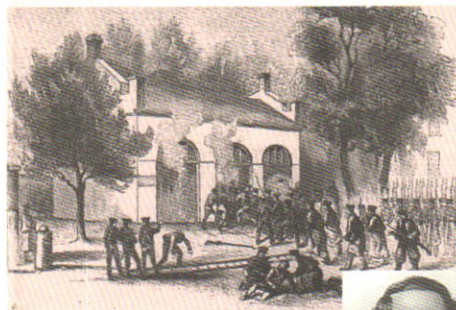


Battle of Black Jack marker

(#43 Battle of Black Jack Park, #42 Old Castle Museum)



Sharps carbine (#13 Kansas Museum of History)



"Storming of the Engine House," Harpers Ferry, Oct. 18, 1859

"Why, aren't you old Osawatimie Brown, who gave us so much trouble in Kansas...?"

Lt. J.E.B. Stuart, who was directed by Col. Robert E. Lee to demand the surrender of John Brown at the Engine House, Harpers Ferry, Oct. 18, 1859.



Col. Robert E. Lee (as he appeared in 1859) was the commander of the Federal forces that captured Brown and his men at Harpers Ferry. KSHS

TERRIBLE EXCITEMENT EAST!
Attempted Negro Rising in Maryland.
HARPER'S FERRY TAKEN
Old Capt. John Brown in the Slave States
TROOPS CALLED OUT
16 Men Killed and about 40 Wounded
THE INSURGENTS CORNERED
Martial Law Proclaimed
THE RIOTERS TO BE HUNG
Most Astonishing Proceedings.
From the Leavenworth Daily Times.
Our first dispatch is from Baltimore. It says, the lights being extinguished on the railroad

Headline from the **Lawrence Republican**, October 20, 1859 about the Harpers Ferry Raid.

Oct. 16-18, 1859

John Brown's Raid on Harpers Ferry, Va.—Kansas Raiders, Kagi, Leeman and J. G. Anderson, along with Brown's sons Oliver and Watson, are among those killed during the raid.



Harpers Ferry Raider "Emperor" Shields Green, a friend of Frederick Douglass.



Harpers Ferry Raider **Dangerfield Newby** is among those killed.

Oct. 25- Nov. 2, 1859

Trial and sentencing of John Brown in Charlestown, Va.

REWARD offered
for capture of
John Brown,
by the Gov.
of Missouri
and President
Buchanan.

**Dec. 21, 1858-
Feb. 1, 1859**
Underground Railroad
journey through
Kansas.

"We are on the
eve of one of the
greatest wars in
history, and I
fear slavery will
triumph, and
there will be an
end of all
aspirations for
human freedom.

For my part,
I drew my sword
in Kansas when
they attacked us,
and I will never
sheathe it until
this war is over."
Quote from William Phillips'
last interview of Brown
[#25 Whitney House Site]



Jan. 7, 1859
Desk of Augustus
Wattles at which
John Brown
wrote his famous
"Parallels" justifying
his Missouri raid.
[#49 Adair Cabin &
John Brown Museum]

Jan. 31, 1859
Battle of the Spurs

1859

Following a final **Battle of the Spurs**, near Holton, John Brown left Kansas Territory for the last time on February 1, 1859.

[#9 Battle of the Spurs Marker, #6 Lane Trail Marker,
#8 Charles Smith Home Site, #5 Albany Museum,
#4 Plymouth/Pony Creek]

"The chase," said the

Leavenworth Times, Feb. 2, 1859,
(describing the Battle of the Spurs)

*"was a merry one and
closed by Brown's taking
off three of his pursuers as
prisoners; with four horses,
pistols, guns, &c., as legit-
imate plunder. The prison-
ers were carried some
twenty miles, and then
sent back to Atchison both
wiser and sadder men. They
feel rather chop-fallen, and vent
their wrath on their captain, whom
they denounce as a blusterer and
coward. The terms might be applied
to the whole party as well, for aught
we know. Old Captain Brown is not
to be taken by 'boys' and he cor-
dially invites all proslavery men to
try their hands at arresting him."*

Brown escorted the African
Americans to Canada, then
eventually went to Pennsylvania
and Maryland to prepare for his
famous raid on **Harpers Ferry**.

Last photographic
portrait of **John Brown**—
with beard—taken
by J.B. Heywood, May,
1859, in Boston, Mass.,
as he appeared while
preparing for the raid
on Harpers Ferry.

KSHS



On June 2, the **Battle of
Black Jack** [#43 Battle of Black Jack Park,
#42 Old Castle Museum] took place in
southeastern Douglas County.
The battle between John Brown's
men and those of Henry Clay Pate
is considered the first regular battle

fought between Free State
and Pro-slavery forces.

Brown routed Pate's men
and took most of them
prisoner to a camp along
Middle Ottawa Creek. [#44

Middle Ottawa Creek]. On the 5th

of June, Brown's camp
was disbanded, and

Pate's men released by
Colonel Edwin V. Sumner
and Lieutenant J.E.B.

Stuart. One of Brown's
trophies from Black Jack
was Pate's "Bowie knife,"
which Brown later
showed a Connecticut
blacksmith, asking if he
could make a

thousand like it to be

"attached to poles about six feet
long." Thus originated the famous
pikes of Harpers Ferry, though at
the time Brown claimed "they
would be a capital weapon for the
settlers of Kansas to keep in their
log cabins to defend themselves
against any sudden attack that
might be made on them." [#49 Adair

Cabin & John Brown Mus., #13 Kansas Mus. of
History, #28 Watkins Mus., #42 Old Castle Mus.]



Pike—
Charles
Blair was
the black-
smith who
made the
1000
pikes.

June 5, 1856

Prisoners are
released to
Colonel Edwin V.
Sumner and Lt.
J.E.B. Stuart at
camp on Middle
Ottawa Creek [#44
Middle Ottawa
Creek] (south of
Prairie City).

June 6, 1856

Brown's Station
is burned to the
ground.



E. V. Sumner



J.E.B. Stuart

Geary County Historical Society

"John Brown's hatred of the border-ruffians had reached so high a degree, that he could emulate the worst of them in acts of cruelty, whilst not one among them was his equal as a tactician, or possessed as much courage and daring. Hence his name soon became a terror, and not a few unsuccessful attempts were made to effect his capture."

John H. Gihon, *Geary and Kansas*, 1857

After Frederick Brown charged the field when the horses were shot, Pate offered a flag of truce.

"Had I known whom I was fighting I would not have trusted to a flag of truce. Captain Brown commanded me to order my company to lay down their arms. Putting a revolver to my breast he repeated the command, giving me one or two minutes to make the order."



Henry Clay Pate
West Virginia State Archives

"Captain Pate reproaches me with the most dishonorable violations of the rights secured under a flag of truce, but says: 'My object was to gain time, and if possible have hostilities suspended for awhile.' So much, in his own language, for good faith, of which he found me so destitute."

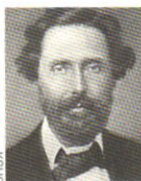
John Brown writing from Lawrence, Kansas Territory, July 1, 1856, to the *New York Tribune* of July 11, 1856

June-Sept. 1856 Imprisonment at Camp Sackett of John Jr. [#17 Camp Sackett]

"The soldiers, thinking John Jr. one of the Pottawatomie killers, chained him to a tent pole and beat him with fists and rifle butts until he was 'a raving maniac.' ...like a gang of slaves they were thus driven on foot... dragging their chains after them."

Dates—quoting the *New York Tribune*, June 23, July 2 & 7, 1856

southeastern Kansas [#66 Augustus Wattles', Moneka, #72 Fort Bain, #73 Fort Brown, #69 Fort Montgomery/Fort Brown, #70 Reconstructed Fort



James Montgomery

Montgomery, #64 Fort Snyder] to meet up with James Montgomery, one of the most prominent Free State chieftains. John Brown once again established his presence in the thick of the troubles, building a fort [#64 Fort Snyder] near the site of the massacre, "in full view for miles around in Missouri."

On December 20, Brown led a daring raid into Missouri [#74 Vernon County, Mo.] to free eleven enslaved African Americans. For over a month Brown escorted the freed African Americans through Kansas along the Underground Railroad,



Samuel Harper, one of eleven African Americans freed by Brown from Missouri slaveholders. KSHS

[#s 73, 72, 69, 66, 65, 57, 56, 55, 54, 49, 45, 39, 37, 34, 31, 27, 35, 16, 15, 12, 11, 9, 8, 5, 3, 4] and eventually to Canada. A child born during this escape to freedom was named Captain John Brown Daniels. [#55 Wadsworth Cabin & Mound Site]

"Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them."

Hebrews 13:3, A favorite biblical quotation of John Brown



Bible from Capitol mural
KSHS

Aug. 15-Sept. 15, 1858

At Adair Cabin for four weeks. [#49 Adair Cabin] Old Brown wrote to John Jr. that he had been "entirely laid up with ague and chill fever. Was never more sick."



Portrait of Florella Adair, Brown's half-sister; along with John Kagi, she nursed Brown during his sickness.

Dec. 16, 1858

Raid on Ft. Scott. [#75] Brown recruits Harpers Ferry Raiders **Jeremiah G. Anderson** and **Albert Hazlett**, during this period.



Dec. 20, 1858

Brown leads a raid into Missouri to free eleven slaves, killing one slaveholder. [#74 Vernon County, Mo., #76 Bushwhacker Museum]

**Nov. 20, 1857-
June 24, 1858**

Out of Kansas for
seven months.

May 19, 1858

Massacre on Marais
des Cygnes of five
Free State men. [#68
Linn Co. Museum, #64
Marais des Cygnes State
Historical Site, #65
Trading Post Museum]
(John Greenleaf
Whittier writes his
poem "Le Marais
du Cygne" about
the massacre.)

June 1858

Brown arrives back in
Kansas from Canada
after the Chatham
Convention.



KSHS

July 12, 1858

Harpers Ferry Raider
Charles P. Tidd,
joins Shubel
Morgan's Company.

**Articles of
Agreement
for Shubel
Morgan's
Company**

KSHS

*"Our 'warrior of the Lord
and of Gideon'—the renowned
Old Brown—has just arrived in
Lawrence. He leaves tomorrow
morning to visit Capt.
Montgomery."*

New York Tribune, July 8, 1858, James Redpath, Special
Correspondent, writing from Lawrence, June 27, 1858.
[#25 Whitney House]



Marais des Cygnes Massacre

KSHS

Following the Marais des
Cygnes Massacre [#68 Linn Co. Museum, #65
Trading Post Museum, #64 Marais des Cygnes State
Historical Site,] of May 19, 1858, when
five Free State men were shot to
death, John Brown returned to
Kansas. While at the Chatham
Convention in Canada, where he
was refining plans for the Harpers
Ferry raid, the plan was betrayed
by Brown's military advisor, Hugh

Forbes, to officials in
Washington. Thinking
it best to delay the
raid until rumors had
settled down (and
hearing of the
massacre), Brown
arrived in Kansas with
a flowing white beard
and a new alias:
Shubel Morgan. After
passing through
Lawrence, he went to

"Camp Brown"
on Middle Ottawa
Creek, [#44 Middle Ottawa
Creek Camp] became
headquarters for
John Brown and
his men:

*"I shall not
soon forget the
scene that here
opened to my view.
Near the edge of
the creek a dozen
horses were tied,
all ready saddled for a ride for
life, or a hunt after Southern
invaders. A dozen rifles and sabres
were stacked around the trees...
Old Brown himself stood near
the fire..."*

James Redpath, *The Public Life of Captain John Brown*

"Camp Brown" became
mobile after June 5.

After a month of hiding,
Brown was en route from



KSHS

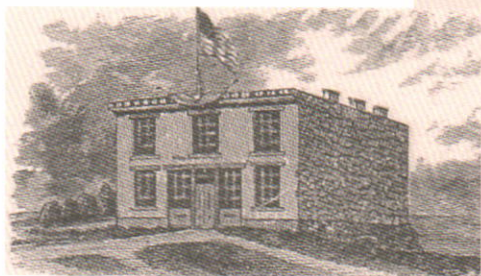
Brown and
Harpers Ferry
Raider **John E.
Cook**, meet for
the first time
shortly after the
Battle of Black
Jack, at Camp
Brown.

*"Hiding from
our enemies
like David of
old finding our
dwelling with
the serpents of
the rock, and
wild beasts of
the wilderness."*

Brown letters, June 24
and 26, 1856

July 4, 1856

Free State Legislature
meets in Topeka,
in open defiance of
Pro-slavery territorial
government. [#14
Constitution Hall, Topeka]
Brown encamped
along Shunganunga
Creek at Willets farm.
[#15 John Ritchie House]



KSHS

**Constitution
Hall, Topeka**
[#14 Constitution
Hall, Topeka]

Lawrence, [#27 Eastern
House Site, #29 Mount Oread,
#19 Big Springs] on the
2nd and 3rd of July,
to Topeka where the Free State
Legislature was meeting in
open defiance of the Pro-slavery
territorial government. This

Aug. 8, 1856

Raid on New Georgia,
Miami County

**Aug. 10, 15 &
16, 1856**

Skirmishes at Fort Franklin, Fort Saunders and Fort Titus. [#32 Franklin, #38 Fort Saunders, #18 Fort Titus]

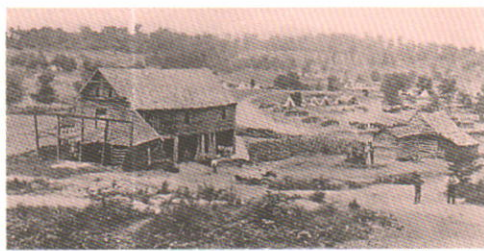
"These forts were simply log houses, with port-holes for guns, and supplied with provisions and ammunition, and prepared for defense or siege. These three strongholds practically cut off Lawrence from help and from supplies."

Richard Cordley, History of Lawrence, Kansas

"It seems that this Brown is a power in the Territory—neither the Territorial or General Government having been able so far to stop his depredations. He is fast taking rank with guerrilla chiefs of Mexico, and the robber bands of Cane Hill, Arkansas; and unless something is done to put a stop to his career, volunteer forces will be necessary to put him down."

The Kansas City Enterprise, August 16, 1856

gathering was dispersed militarily by Colonel Sumner [#14 Constitution Hall, Topeka] on July 4, and Brown, who was camped along the Shunganunga Creek soon left the area. Later that month he was headed along the Lane Trail to Nebraska City—soon returning to Kansas with a military caravan under James Lane. [#1 Nebraska City, Neb. #6 Lane Trail Marker, #4 Plymouth/Pony Creek]



KSHS

Fort Saunders, Pro-slavery stronghold, 1856

Letter of August 12, 1856: "Mr. Brown—Gen. Joe Cook [James Lane] wants you to come to Lawrence this night, for we expect to have a fight on Washington Creek [Fort Saunders]. Come to Topeka as soon as possible and I will pilot you to the place. Yours in haste, H. Stratton."

KSHS

John Brown appeared in Kansas Territory again the second week in August. A series of skirmishes and battles occurred during this time at Franklin, Fort Saunders and Fort Titus. Brown may have participated in these events. [#32 Franklin, #38 Fort Saunders, #18 Fort Titus, #35 Clinton Lake Museum, #20 Constitution Hall, Leocompton]



KSHS

Brown and Harpers Ferry Raider **Aaron D. Stevens**, (Alias "Captain Whipple") meet for the first time at Nebraska City during this period.

1857

Brown, using the alias of Nelson Hawkins, returned to Kansas Territory briefly in November of 1857. Arriving near Lawrence on the 5th, he gathered together a group of men at the Edmund B. Whitman farm, [#22 Whitman Farm] and at the Daniel Sheridan Farm [#16 Sheridan Farm] near



KSHS

John H. Kagi, Brown's Secretary of War

Topeka, telling people he was raising funds and recruiting for Kansas when in fact he had his sights on Harpers Ferry. These men, including John E. Cook, Aaron D. Stevens and John H.

Kagi, were Brown's first recruits for his planned raid on Harpers Ferry.

"Our ultimate destination is the State of Virginia," Brown told them after their arrival from Kansas in Tabor, Iowa [#1 Nebraska City, NE,

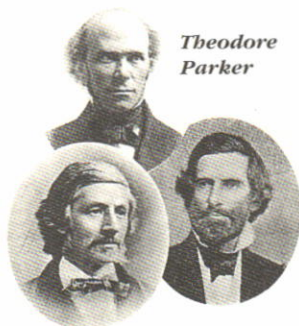
#2 Tabor, IA]. John

Brown's bold plan to free the slaves was taking shape, though he had one more grand adventure left in Kansas.



KSHS

Edmund B. Whitman was the primary agent in Kansas for both the Massachusetts and the National Kansas Committee.



Theodore Parker

Franklin B. Sanborn

Samuel G. Howe, husband of Julia Ward Howe

Oct. 5, 1856

Leaves Kansas via Lane Trail; [#6 Lane Trail Marker, #1 Nebraska City, NE] narrowly escaping capture by Lieut. Colonel Cooke near Nebraska City.

Oct. 5, 1856 - Nov. 3, 1857

Out of Kansas speaking and fund-raising for 13 months.

Jan. 23, 1857

At a meeting of the National Kansas Committee in New York.

Mar. 4-6, 1857

James Buchanan's Inauguration; Dred Scott Decision.

May 13, 1857

Brown leaves Vergennes, Vermont, for Kansas.

Nov. 1857

Brown arrives in, and leaves Kansas via the Lane Trail. [#6]

Nov. 5-7, 1857

Edmund B. Whitman farm. [#22 Whitman Farm]

"The most important result of this visit of Brown to Kansas was his recruiting his first men for the Harpers Ferry raid."

Villard

Nov., 1857

Leocompton Constitution [#20]

Sept. 14, 1856

Brown gives "Keep calm and aim low" speech in Lawrence.

[#23 Free State Brewery Plaque]



John W. Geary

Sept. 15, 1856

Gov. Geary averts a battle at Lawrence.

Sept. 15-22, 1856

At Augustus Wattles' [#36 Augustus Wattles' Farm, Bloomington, #35 Clinton Lake Museum] near Bloomington on Rock Creek, Lieut.

Eugene A. Carr searched the Wattles home for Brown: "[As] Brown lay on the floor of the attic, whither he had gone to sleep, he could look down between the roof boards and the top log of the wall, hearing every word, seeing every movement, with his two loaded Colt's revolvers in his hands."

Recollection of Emma Wattles Morse (Villard)

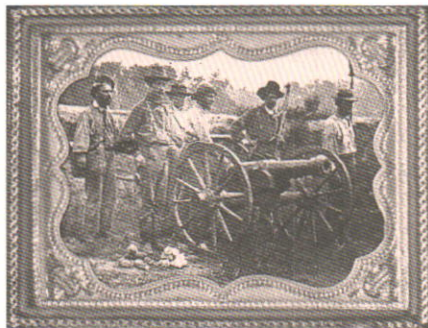
Oct. 1, 1856

At Osawatimie

[#49 Adair Cabin & John Brown Museum]

"They had no regular commander, any more than at Bunker Hill; but the famous 'Old Captain Brown' moved among them, saying, 'Fire low, boys; be sure to bring your eye down to the binder sight of your rifle, and aim at the feet rather than the head.'"

Thomas Wentworth Higginson, writing in the New York Tribune, October 8, 1856, from Lawrence, K.T.



Brown's men at Lawrence: "Free State Battery, 1856" Left to right: Owen Brown, George B. Gill, Taui Jones, Augustus Wattles, August Bondi, James Redpath. **Cannon: Old Sacramento.** [#28 Watkins Museum]

Kansas State Historical Society, donated by T. W. Higginson, identifications by Jean Libby, daguerreotype attributed to John Bowles.

The Secret Six —
Brown's Northern Supporters.

John Brown writing to George Luther Stearns, 16 Nov. 1857, from Topeka, Kansas T.—

"Dear Friend, I have now been in Kansas for more than a Week: & for about Two days with Mr. Whitman

[#22 Whitman Farm] & other friends at Lawrence.

I find matters quite unsettled."

Villard



Gerrit Smith

T. W. Higginson

"Brown was a presence in Kansas and an active presence all through '56. Yet it was his presence more than his activities, that made him a power, - the idea of his being. He was a ghostly influence.

No man in Kansas was more respected. Yet, after Pottawatomie he moved much in secret."

Statement of R. G. Elliott

In late August, Brown was off raiding along the Missouri border, and on the 28th he returned to Osawatimie with 150 head of cattle. Cattle rustling was a common depredation among both sides during this period, and Brown claimed he was only converting the herd to abolitionism. By August 30 the **Battle of Osawatimie** was raging along the banks of the Marais des Cygnes. [#49 Adair Cabin & John Brown Museum]

General John W. Reid and



Statue of John Brown [#49 John Brown Memorial Park, Osawatimie]

250 men set out to destroy the abolitionist stronghold of Osawatimie on August 30, and John Brown and his men were a primary target. Brown's son Frederick was the first killed. There was a furious fire fight along the river, with Brown eventually

Aug. 24-26, 1856

With Capt. James B. Cline on Sugar Creek (battle on South Middle Creek). [#58 South Middle Creek, Battle Hill, #68 Linn County Museum]

Aug. 30, 1856

Battle of Osawatimie [#49 Adair Cabin & John Brown Museum, #50 Soldiers' Monument Battle of Osawatimie, #51 Osawatimie History Museum] on the banks of the Marais des Cygnes. Brown's son Frederick is among those killed.



**John
Tecumseh
"Tay" Jones**
—a Chippewa
Indian and
close friend of
Brown

**Aug. 31-
Sept. 6, 1856**
At Hauser farm
and Tay Jones'
farm. [#45]

Sept. 7, 1856
Brown arrives
back in Lawrence.
[#27 Eastern House]

"On September 7,
Brown rode into
town on a gray
horse, with his
gun across his
saddle and a
dazed expression
on his face. The
old man was well
known in
Lawrence and as
he moved down
the street men
cheered 'as loudly
as if the President
had come to town,
but John Brown
seemed not to
hear it and paid
not the slightest
attention.'"

Oates—quoting Henry
Reisner, eyewitness that day.

retreating across the Marais des
Cygnes to high ground where
he watched Osawatomie burn.

[#48 Osawatomie State Hospital] See quote
inside front cover.

Brown biographer, Stephen
B. Oates, describes the Battle of
Osawatomie as follows:

"Brown ran back and forth in
the timber exhorting his men to fire
low and hold their positions, but his
voice was lost in the noise of the
gunfire and cannonade... Only
when the Missourians threatened
to engulf them did he allow his men
to fall back step by step along the
riverbank. Suddenly the old man
staggered—struck in the back by
a partially spent blast of grapeshot.
Luckily for him he was not seriously
injured (later he claimed that God
had saved his life).

As the Missourians swarmed
after them [James] Holmes and
several others waded into the river
and tried to swim for their lives.
The Missourians opened fire
on them, killing George
Partridge, and captur-
ing four others
(including Brown's
trusted friend, Charles
Kaiser)—[Kaiser, an
Austrian, was executed
after the battle.]

With rifle balls
striking the water all
around... Brown,
Jason, and three or
four others ran further
down the river, then
waded across where the water was
relatively shallow. To George Grant,



**Daguerreotype
of John Brown—
Summer, 1856,
Kansas Territory**
(Attributed to John Bowles,
Lawrence, K.T.) Library of
the Boston Athenaeum

the old man looked a 'queer figure,
in a broad straw hat and a white
linen duster; his old coattails
floating outspread upon the
water and a revolver held high
in each hand, over his head.'"

"I was struck by a partly
spent Grape, Canister, or Rifle
shot which bruised me some, but
did not injure me seriously.

"Hilbert the Lord hath helped me
notwithstanding my afflictions.
Rifle shot which bruised
me" not withstanding my
injure me seriously
m not withstanding my
quiet list

John Brown's letter to his family, dated Lawrence, K.T.,
Sept. 7, 1856 [KSHS]

"The battle of Osawatomie
was the high divide of the contest.
It was our Thermopylae, and John
Brown our Leonidas, with his
Spartan band... Osawatomie is
as sacred as Bunker Hill."

Senator John J. Ingalls, 1877

Two weeks later, Lawrence
was under threat of invasion from
a greatly enlarged force under Reid
and Atchison. 2700 Missourians
were camped at Franklin and
prepared to march on Lawrence.
Brown spoke to the defenders on
September 14, encouraging them
to "keep calm and aim low." The
newly-appointed governor, John
W. Geary, soon arrived from
Lecompton (with 300 U.S. Army
dragoons under Lt. Colonels Joseph
E. Johnston and Philip St. George
Cooke) and negotiated a cease fire,
averting bloodshed. During Geary's
tenure the Kansas civil war of 1856
came to a close, and John Brown
left Kansas Territory on Oct. 5
heading east to conduct fund-
raising for his anti-slavery crusade.



**Brown's Colt
revolver**
[#13 Kansas Museum
of History]
KSHS



Sept. 9, 1856
William H. Leeman,
the youngest of the
raiders at Harpers
Ferry, first joins John
Brown's "Volunteer
Regulars" at
Lawrence.

Sept. 10, 1856
John Jr. released
from prison.
[#17 Camp Sackett]